

Africa

SPECIAL REPORT

February, 1959
Volume 4, Number 2

*R
new*
TOUT HOMME EST
LONG NÉ ÉGAL

SAWABA

THE
ACCRA
CONFERENCE

(See Page Three)

Mali Enters West African Scene

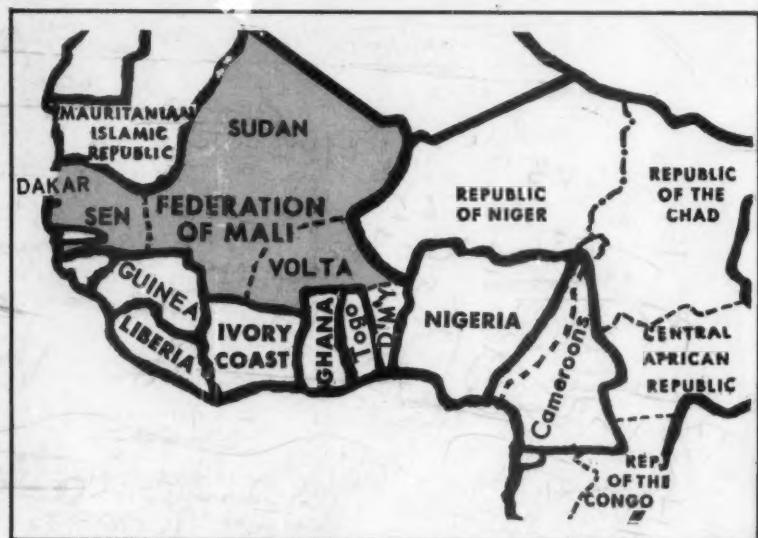
The birth of the Federation of Mali is the latest in a succession of political events which is rapidly changing the face of West Africa.

Taking its name from a great African empire which flourished between the 11th and 18th centuries, the new Mali federation is being formed out of parts of former French West Africa—Senegal, Volta, Sudan and possibly Dahomey—in an African effort to avoid “Balkanization” in the new French Community.

Leaders of the four charter states, plus Mauritanian observers, met in Bamako, in the Sudan, December 29 and 30, and agreed after one of the shortest African political conferences on record (seven hours) to work out a “primary federation” among the Community states. Early in January, Assemblies of each territory approved the agreement and nominated delegates to a constitutional drafting conference January 14 to 17 in Dakar, which is to be the Federal capital. There, a document was drawn up which leaves considerable latitude to the individual states, including the right to secede, and makes provision for other states to join. Ratification followed in Senegal, Volta and Sudan, but a flare-up of opposition in Dahomey made the outcome there uncertain.

Various Pulls at Work

The creation of Mali adds a new dimension to the fluid West African political scene and the scheduled independence of Nigeria on October 1, 1960 will add another. The various tendencies and pulls at work in the new states seem to point to emer-



gence of three centers of gravity for the time being—Accra (or Accra-Conakry), Lagos and Dakar.

In Accra, Dr. Nkrumah has left open his invitation for others to join the historic union of a former French and former British colony, while in Lagos, Nigerians are preparing their own house, and show no inclination to rush into an edifice constructed by someone else.

In Dakar, Leopold Senghor, Senegalese leader and one of the architects of Mali, looks cautiously at Nkrumah's pan-Africanism and appears intent on consolidating his “vertical” ties with France before moving on to “horizontal” bonds throughout West Africa.

Longer-Term Goal

Present motivations for the new federation on the African side include some simplification and economies in administration, and opportunities for integrated development. But the leaders behind Mali probably also see the federation as a useful step toward a longer-term goal of an independent federation linked to France by Commonwealth-like bonds of mutual interest. Pressures in the direction of broader West African unity are exerted by neighboring Guinea and by a pan-African minded echelon of younger men who are moving up the political ladder within Mali itself.

France's ability to finance African economic development appeared to be a controlling factor in the present transitional period. France, meanwhile, may see her community relationship with Mali as a checkmate to

the attraction of independent Ghana and Guinea. Certainly, the counter-pull of Mali relieves—for the moment at least—some of the pan-Africanist pressure which has been building up against M. Félix-Houphouët Boigny, pro-French Premier of the Ivory Coast and Minister of State in the new de Gaulle government.

The Mali-type of internal federation is provided for in the new Fifth Republic constitution, and the Mali agreement has Paris' blessing.

Twelve Premiers Meet

Premiers of all 12 newly-autonomous African Republics sat down with President Charles de Gaulle in Paris February 3-4 to put final touches on the blueprint for the new French Community. Ceremonial installation of the constitutions of the new states will take place April 6. Under the new arrangement, approved by the dozen African leaders acting in their capacity as members of the Executive Council of the new Community, the overseas republics will enjoy full autonomy except in the spheres of foreign policy, defense, finance, common economic policy, strategic mineral policy and higher justice. The individual territories will, however, be permitted to assign diplomatic representatives to French embassies and legations in countries where a special, local interest is involved.

Besides the Executive Council, two other permanent Community institutions are to be established. These include a 284-seat Senate, to sit in Paris two months of every year, and

(Continued on page 14)

AFRICA SPECIAL REPORT is published monthly at 1234 20th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Cable: AFRAM, WASHINGTON

Editorial Staff:

Robert C. Keith, Chief
S. B. Zilber, Editorial Assistant
Betty Lou Lawton, Art

Africa Special Report welcomes but cannot assume responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts.

©Africa Special Report, 1959

Permission for reprinting articles may be obtained by writing or wiring Africa Special Report. Quoting from portions of articles is permitted provided full credit is given to both the author and Africa Special Report, Washington, D. C.

Articles in Africa Special Report are independently selected and edited by the editorial staff and do not necessarily reflect the views of the African-American Institute. Responsibility for accuracy of facts and opinions expressed rests solely with individual correspondents and staff writers.

Second Class postage paid at Washington, D. C. SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: Surface mail: U. S. \$1.00; Foreign 8/-; Air Rates: U. S. \$3.00; Foreign \$4.00.



Sign-Bearers Line Driveway to Conference Hall

A.K. DEH

Ghana
counter-
ment
icanist
ing up
Boigny,
Ivory
in the

federal-
y Fifth
e Mali

autono-
down
ville in
the final
the new
cial in-
of the
April 6.
nt, ap-
leaders
members
the new
publics
cept in
defense,
y, stra-
er jus-
es will,
ign dip-
nch em-
countries
t is in-

cil, two
institu-
these in-
sit in
ar, and

People's Conference Plans Permanent Body

"THIS DECADE," Kwame Nkrumah told the opening session of the All-African People's Conference, "is the decade of African independence."

"Yet we are not racialists or chauvinists," he added. "We welcome into our midst peoples of all other races, other nations, other communities, who desire to live among us in peace and equality. But they must respect us and our rights, our right as the majority to rule. That, as our Western friends have taught us to understand it, is the essence of democracy."

The historic conference convened in Accra from December 8 to December 13, with high-level committee meetings taking place for several days before and several days after. Some 200 official delegates and 100 fraternal delegates and observers from all parts of the world attended the colorful sessions. The assemblage drew political and trade union leaders liter-

ally from the Cape to Cairo and Dakar to Zanzibar.

The conference discussed tactical action in regard to those dependent territories ruled from Europe, as well as those where political power is in the hands of local white residents, and in the end came up with a string of resolutions condemning colonial rule, imperialism, and white supremacy in Africa. In addition, the conference chose a permanent steering committee of 15 members, authorized the establishment of a "Freedom Fund," and voted to set up a permanent professionally-staffed secretariat in Accra, charged with the task of organizing a similar conference every year.

The new steering committee agreed to hold the next people's conference in Tunisia and reportedly made plans to meet in Cairo in July to choose a permanent secretary-general.

According to its organizers, the purpose of the December conference was to work out practical projects and prepare and plan Gandhian tactics and strategy for non-violent revolution in Africa.

The conference was designed to spur on the independence drive, give moral support and encouragement to nationalist leaders, and unify their isolated—and sometimes lonely—efforts to organize political movements in their separate areas and press for the attainment of power. In Accra many of the leaders met for the first time, sized one another up, exchanged experiences and advice.

The conference was political in tone and did not deal in detail with economic, educational and social problems as such. Two themes appeared to underlie many of the speeches and deliberations:

(1) acquisition of political power by Africans, throughout the continent, as rapidly as possible.

(2) finding ways to avoid "Balkanization" of West Africa into small, economically unsteady states, products of the separate decolonization of various French and British territories which is now taking place. The conference foresaw creation of regional groupings throughout the whole of Africa and called for their ultimate

(Continued on next page)

COVER: Dr. Nkrumah leaves hall after final session. Africa Special Report photos by R. C. Keith.



ASS

MRS. HANNA KUDJOE, Ghana C.P.P. women's organizer, adds good-humored touch to a subject of serious conference concern.

(Continued from preceding page)
linkage in one African Commonwealth or United States of Africa.

Within the ideological framework of Pan-Africanism, the theme of power to the Africans was presented to the conference as step number one in bettering economic and social conditions in Africa. In his speech opening the conference, Prime Minister Nkrumah advised his listeners to "Aim for the attainment of the political kingdom," and "all else will follow."

"Only with the acquisition of political power—real power through the attainment of sovereign independence—will you be in a position to reshape your lives and destiny. Only then will you be able to solve the vexatious problems which harass our continent." But, he added, this power "is not in itself the end, it is the means to an end, and that is why the use to which power is put is so important."

He called on the African leaders to "use the political power which the people vest in us through freely won elections to bring about the speediest economic and social reconstruction of our countries, so as to provide a higher standard of life for all the people." He chided the "eminent associations of experts" who he said are unable to solve Africa's many prob-

lems because they "dodge the simple fact that they are incapable of solution with the dividing system of imperialism and colonialism."

He listed four stages to be followed by Africa's political leaders:

(1) the attainment of freedom and independence,

(2) the consolidation of that freedom and independence,

(3) the creation of unity and community between the free African states,

(4) the economic and social reconstruction of Africa.

Methods of obtaining political power were stressed in a speech by Foreign Minister Kojo Botsio, who led the Ghana delegation at the Conference and played a key role as head of the steering committee. Mr. Botsio said the "secret weapon" of Ghana's Convention People's Party was "Organization".

"Together with organization" he added, "is the demand for universal adult suffrage. The right of one individual to one vote regardless of race, color and creed. Universal adult suffrage is the key to the final attainment of independence. Once this right is conceded, the way is open. With the united will of the people behind you, the power of the imperialist can be destroyed without the use of violence."

Mr. Botsio declared that the All-African People's Conference "marks the opening of a new epoch in our struggle for the total emancipation of Africa," and was the beginning of the "final assault upon colonialism."

Attack on South Africa

The mood was reflected in the final resolutions. The conference called on the British government "to dissolve the Central African Federation" and "end the present state of emergency in Kenya." Delegates rejected the claim of Portugal that its colonies constitute part of metropolitan Portugal, and demanded "immediate independence for countries in Africa under Portuguese rule."

Turning to South Africa, the conference called on independent African states to impose economic sanctions "as a protest against racial discrimination which the European minority are practicing to the humiliation of the non-European majority." The resolution said such economic sanctions should include the boycott of South African goods.

The conference further recommended that all African countries which supply South Africa with migrant labor should organize such labor for their own use and thus withhold it from South African industry "which has become the instrument of oppression." This resolution was probably aimed at controlling the migration of labor from Nyasaland, which is the big supplier in Southern Africa. The conference called on its permanent secretariat to endeavor

to give financial aid to "any development plan that any country may have to initiate as a result of the diversion of its labor force."

The conference also called upon the United Nations to "reconstitute the Committee on the Racial Situation in the Union of South Africa," and called on the great powers to revoke the League of Nations mandate on South West Africa and take immediate steps to grant the territory independence. The conference viewed as "unacceptable and discreditable" any plan for incorporation of South West Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland "into the South Africa apartheid system."

A recommendation "that no African state should have any diplomatic relations with any country on our continent that practices race discrimination" was passed at one stage but was later apparently dropped at the insistence of cooler heads who foresaw the potentialities arising from the presence of African ambassadors in the Union.

Non-Violence Compromise

The Conference voted to set aside April 15th as African Freedom Day, and called on the permanent secretariat to set up a Bureau of Information as a "depot from which liberatory journals in Africa will be circulated." Another resolution, not clearly explained, called on the independent African states to form an "African Legion" consisting of volunteers who will be ready to protect the freedom of the African peoples."

The key resolution on non-violence read: "The All-African People's Conference in Accra declares its full support to all fighters for freedom in Africa, to all those who resort to peaceful means of non-violence and civil disobedience as well as to all those who are compelled to retaliate against violence to attain national independence and freedom for the people. Where such retaliation becomes necessary, the conference condemns all legislations which consider those who fight for their independence and freedom as ordinary criminals."

Regional Groupings Urged

Looking into the future, a resolution on "Frontiers, Boundaries and Federations" expressed the hope that eventually "the first loyalty of African states would be to an African Commonwealth." (The resolution did not mention a "United States of Africa" as did other resolutions.) It suggested that neighboring states should first amalgamate themselves into groups, and that linguistic, religious and cultural divisions and national sovereignty should be "subordinated to the overriding demands of Pan-African unity."

The resolution emphasized that amalgamation, federation or grouping should only take place between independent states governed by Af-

ricans and on the basis of a popular referendum.

The resolution called also for the abolition or adjustment of frontiers which cut across ethnic groups and asked the independent African states to "support a permanent solution to this problem founded upon the true wishes of the people."

The resolution further called on African states to promote African unity by abolishing passport and other travel restrictions, allowing reciprocal rights of citizenship, providing for the teaching of the English and French languages, as well as African history, in secondary schools of each territory, organizing various regional conferences, and promoting the ideals of Pan-Africanism through radio, press and other media.

The conference committee which prepared the resolution foresaw five regional groupings: North Africa, West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa and South Africa, but insisted that the last three should not be brought into being until Africans themselves are in control of the various countries. The committee expressed the hope that these groups would not harden as separate entities but would be regarded as a stepping stone to the greater objective of a Pan-African Commonwealth.

In a resolution on tribalism, religious separatism and traditional institutions, the conference noted that "some of the African traditional institutions, especially chieftaincy, do not conform to the demands of democracy," and condemned those institutions—political, social or economic—which have clearly shown their reactionary character and their sordid support for colonialism."

Mboya, Botsio Take Reins

The conference began and ended in a state of organizational confusion. The Ghana Government adopted a "hands off" policy from the very beginning, so that preparations were left in the hands of an unofficial committee. A few weeks before the Conference, Dr. George Padmore, the Prime Minister's advisor on African affairs and one of the best known exponents of non-violent Pan-Africanism, took a more direct hand in things and set up an enlarged secretariat. Delegates and observers showed up over a period of ten days or more, some not appearing until the conference was well under way. Unevenness of arrivals appeared to delay the setting up of representative working committees. A few days before the opening of the Conference, the center of gravity was shifted from the secretariat to a steering committee headed by Ghana's Kojo Botsio. Mr. Botsio and conference chairman Tom Mboya got a firm hold on the reigns and steered the conference over a bumpy road to its completion.

The argument over use of violence or non-violence came into the open as the conference began and demonstrated the cleavage between Cairo-

based delegations and local leaders in the sub-Saharan territories. In this connection, questions of voting rights, credentials and agenda assumed key importance as various groups of Egyptian, American and Russian observers, Africans living in exile in Cairo, and various splinter groups began to arrive on the scene. Each official delegation was allowed one vote on business of the full conference and one vote on each of five resolutions committees. Delegations were allowed a maximum membership of five. In theory and in some cases in practice, small splinter groups from nearby territories could, by sending a full complement of delegates, exert their influence in more committees than parties in far off Tanganyika or Southern Rhodesia, which could not afford the plane fare to field a full team.

Matters were further complicated by seating arrangements in the Conference Hall. Delegates, press and unofficial observers all sat together, giving non-participants opportunities to influence applause and cheering. The opportunities were not missed.

"A Different Guise"

However, top leaders gave obvious notice on the first day that they did not intend to let the conference be stamped. Dr. Nkrumah warned that "Colonialism and imperialism may come to us yet in a different guise—not necessarily from Europe", and



A.K. MBOYA

Conference Chairman Mboya

unexpectedly scattered some of his top ministers—Messrs. Gbedemah, Botsio and Edusei—among the committees. In his speech, he omitted any reference to previous conferences at Bandung and Cairo.

Mr. Mboya warned that "we will not tolerate any interference with the development of an African personality or any attempt by any country, and I say any, and I mean any, country to undermine the independence we are fighting for. If the power blocs have nothing to do but fight that is their business, let them do it outside Africa."

In the context of the conference, the above was interpreted, in part, as a warning to the Afro-Asian group not to attempt to run away with the show. However, competition between Cairo and Accra continued through the conference and reportedly accounted for many of the disputes over location, powers and staffing of the permanent secretariat and wording of certain resolutions.

Proceedings were further complicated by tortuous problems of translation between English and French, and finally by a "strike" at 5 a.m. on the final day by secretariat typists who could not stay awake any longer. Texts of several resolutions did not appear until days after most delegations had gone home.

Although divergent views among West African delegations emerged at the conference, often along predict-

(Continued on next page)



ASR

GHANA Governor-General Listowel with Prime Minister Nkrumah and Finance Minister Gbedemah at opening session.

(Continued from preceding page)

able lines, the areas of common agreement were probably more notable. The conference did not bring Messrs. Nkrumah, Awolowo, Olympio, Senghor, Houphouet-Boigny or the Sardauna of Sokoto together, but it did foster respect and understanding at the working level between some of their parties. Notable exceptions were Boigny's powerful RDA and the Sardauna's Northern People's Congress in Nigeria, neither of which attended.

Chief Anthony Enahoro of the Action Group, Nigeria, aroused much attention, when he said in a prepared speech, "it would not be realistic" to expect French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, the Cameroons, Togoland, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Gambia and the Federation of Nigeria, "with a total population of over 60 million to 'adhere' to a union predetermined by Ghana and Guinea with a population of 6 million, and in the formulation of which union their leaders have not been consulted."

Chief Enahoro said the Action Group welcomes the announcement of "an entente between Ghana and Guinea," and said the AG "fully supports the evolution of a West African Federation, with the ultimate objective of an African Common-

wealth of States." But he suggested that "each step towards this object should be carefully considered and should only be taken after wide consultation at the very earliest stages." He added that the AG "envises a true Federation and not a loose association of states, and we believe that it is not necessary to await the attainment of independence by the various States of West Africa before coming together to discuss the basis and form of the West Africa Federation."

How and When

On the question of African rule in eastern, central and southern parts of the continent, the conference mood was undivided. "Civilized or not, ignorant or illiterate, rich or poor, we deserve a government of our own choice," Tom Mboya told the delegates on opening day. "Even in Central and South Africa, it is not a question of will we win; we come here to ask ourselves how and when we will in the shortest possible time."

Boke Munanka, of the Tanganyika African National Union, said his party was demanding self-government in 1959 and was ready to institute "positive action" if the demand was not met.

Joshua Nkomo, of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, said the seven million Africans in the Rhodesian Federation "are about to be sold to a few settlers in 1960 in the same way the British Government sold the Africans in South Africa to a few settlers in 1910. We ask that independence not be given to Central Africa until the African people have a voice in governing their countries. We should call a conference immediately of all the imperialist countries and tell them you have taken what you want from our country, the remainder is ours, so good-bye."

Harry Nkumbula, of the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress, called for a resolution opposing the Rhodesian Federation and asking the independent states to take it to the United Nations. "The British Government is creating another South Africa



ASR

Western Nigeria's Enahoro
"... a true federation"

in Central Africa. I blame the British Government; they will be responsible for what happens."

Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, the American-educated member of the Kenya Legislative Council who attended the conference as a representative of the newly-formed Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA), declared that "Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, the Rhodesias and South Africa, like Ghana or Nigeria, are African countries, not white settlers' property. Thus these territories must be ruled by the African people! Bogus theories of multi-racialism, partnership or Bantustanism are essentially devices to deflect the African from his rightful goal of governing his country."

He repeated PAFMECA's ideology in regard to racially mixed territories—that white and Asian residents "will have to accept African citizenship first if they want to live there as citizens."

Dr. Kiano punctuated his speech with an organized floor demonstration for the release of imprisoned African leader Jomo Kenyatta.

"Bridge Has Been Built"

The conference came to a close one day later than scheduled. Bobby Lee, an American Negro dentist living in Accra, led a song to the tune of "That Old Time Religion"—"Give Me That Old Freedom Spirit." Dr. Nkrumah said it has "warmed us to see here so many of our brothers from across the sea. We must never forget they are a part of us."

Then he told of the pleasure he had drawn from observing during the conference the strengthening of the desire for freedom and unity. He said the conference had "laid the foundation for the African Community," and a "bridge has been built between the freedom fighters throughout the continent." He said the conference had also "helped us to discover the source of our weakness that is the divisions within our own ranks" and that "now we are resolved to eradicate these divisions. . . . The scales have fallen from our eyes, we have a clear vision



ASR

VICTORY SONGS enlivened conference sessions at Accra Community Center, located downtown on ocean front.

British
spon-ican
legis-
con-
the
edom
Africa
Kenya,
hode-
na or
, not
these
African
multi-
stan-
reflect
goal ofecology
tories
dents
itizen-
therespeech
ration
Africanuse one
y Lee,
ing in
"That
That
rumah
here
across
t theyhe had
the
he said
ounda-
," and
en the
the con-
e had
source
visions
t "now
these
fallen
vision

U. S. CONGRESSMAN Charles C. Diggs, Jr., was among observers.



ASR

of the future and we shall from now on march forward in a solid phalanx."

He repeated the goals of independence, creation of an African Community and economic and social reconstruction on the basis of African socialism. He called for an All-African Trade Conference and a cultural conference, and made special reference to the role of African businessmen in the "developing economic reconstruction of Africa." Finally, he reminded delegates that "disciplined organization is the key for the attainment of African independence."

Chairman Mboya summarized some of the resolutions and said "Action against South Africa will continue relentlessly until the people of South

Africa achieve their rightful place in society." He said the problems facing the conference seemed to be two: colonialism and small European minority elements in East and southern Africa. The attitude and stand taken by the colonial powers, he said, "will determine whether our people are driven to violence. All we ask of the colonial powers is cooperation with us because we have decided to become free. Colonial powers deserve our friendship and we hope they will not put unnecessary obstacles in our way because such obstacles will determine whether we remain friends. We need not beg anyone to free us; the whistle has blown and now we are on the march."

VIOLENCE OR NON-VIOLENCE

Division Between East and West?

By PAT DUNCAN

ONE OF THE MAIN points of disagreement at the recent Accra Conference of African peoples was the question of non-violence and its use in the struggle for African freedom.

The provisional agenda sent out with the invitations announced that the main purpose of the Conference would be to "formulate concrete plans and the Gandhian tactics and strategy of the African non-violent Revolution."

It became clear right at the outset that these words did not command universal assent. One of the first acts of the strong delegation from Cairo was to protest against the above-quoted words. The steering committee, under the strong chairmanship of Kojo Botsio, Foreign Minister in the Ghana government, assured the Arabs that the words were not meant as a slight on the Algerian freedom fighters, and that it would be possible, during the Conference, for the feelings of all on the subject to be canvassed. In no way, the Arabs were assured, would discussions be limited by the terms of the provisional agenda.

In the December issue of the monthly *Voix du Cameroun*, the organ of the UPC (Popular Union of Cameroons), appears an article interpreting Gandhi's views on violence and non-violence. It quoted his statement that, if he had to pick between cowardice and violence, he would pick violence. Clearly in the Cameroons, where, as in Algeria, armed protests continue against French rule, the pure idea of soul-force, truthfirmness, or *satyagraha* which disdains to hurt the opponent, is not the height of fashion.

During the conference the issue kept on cropping up. It was perhaps the principal subject at the long press-conference given by Mr. Tom Mboya, the Conference Chairman. He was grilled by the Algerians and Egyptians. He admitted that he believed in non-violence. But he also admitted that "this does not mean that if Africans are struck, they will not hit back." One does not have to

(Continued on next page)

An expert on "non-violence," PATRICK DUNCAN received international publicity in December 1952 when he was arrested for deliberately entering Germiston location near Johannesburg without a permit, during the passive resistance campaign against segregation laws. He is the son of a former Governor-General of South Africa and edits the fortnightly journal *Contact*. He attended the Accra conference as a delegate of the South African Liberal Party.

(Continued from preceding page)

be a pacifist, said Mboya. Pacifism he understood to be the refusal to hit back in any circumstances, and this was certainly not his own position, nor, he felt, that of the African freedom movement.

Gikonyo Kiano, Mboya's fellow Kenyan Member of Parliament, found considerable applause and support for his forthright statement of his belief in non-violence.

It was clear that the Conference was divided between those who believe firmly in violence as a solution for Africa's ills, and those who would only use it as a last resort.

The original inclusion of the reference to Gandhi was the work of George Padmore. Although he kept in the background at the Conference itself, he was responsible for the calling and the organizing of the Conference. He believes in non-violence. He also believes in the opposition, in the African freedom struggle, between communism and Pan-Africanism, and he has written a forthright book with this as a title. Padmore is thus for non-violence and Pan-Africanism, and against violence and communism.

Did the line dividing the men of violence from the rest coincide, at the conference, with the line dividing the East from the West? Broadly, yes.

One of the most interesting, though perhaps not personally very significant, figures at the conference was Majhnout Diop, the tall, bearded, bespectacled Senegalese who knows Russian and teaches at Cairo University.

He disagrees with George Padmore's thesis. In a long screed submitted at Padmore's request to the conference, he attempted to refute the thesis that communism was an alternative to Pan-Africanism. No, said Diop, the two will go together. The struggle for African liberation must and will coincide with the proletarian revolution, as it did in China.

This mention of China brings out a point on which there has been significant speculation. That is the possibility of the strategy of conquest, which proved successful in China, being applied to Africa.

The circumstances suggest that a decision has been made that this is henceforward to be the party line in Africa.

There are some great forces already working against such a destructive possibility. There is Pan-Africanism, which has at Accra received its status as a new power to be reckoned with. No one who was there can doubt its immense appeal. There is the growth of prosperity and wealth, and of an African middle class, perhaps the greatest barrier to a proletarian revolution that could be imagined. There are the good relations with the ex-colonial powers that men like Nkrumah

Russian Scholars Lead Seven-Man Observer Team

By HOMER A. JACK

THE RUSSIAN observers present at Accra technically came from the Soviet Committee of Afro-Asian Solidarity and were headed by Dr. P. A. Azimov, principal of Turkmen State University. The seven Russians gave press interviews, paid a call on Prime Minister Nkrumah, visited Kumasi and mixed with African delegates. They also gave toy Soviet medallions to everybody who would take them. The Russians did not, however, have any hand in the decision-making process of the Conference. The steering committee voted early to exclude both Russians and Americans, including all fraternal delegates and observ-



Prof. Potekhin

ers, thus making no distinction in status between the two. Whether the Russians made solid friendships and allies in Africa remains to be seen. They may have offered Africans jaunts to Russia and scholarships to students. Prof. Ivan I. Potekhin of the delegation complained that there are only about 50 Africans studying in Russia, compared to over 1,000 in America.

A second source of Russian influence at Accra was the delegation from the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Council. The only Chinese observer

DR. HOMER A. JACK, a writer on Asian-African affairs, is Minister of the Unitarian Church of Evanston, Illinois. He was a fraternal delegate to the Accra Conference.

in Accra (other than several journalists) was on this delegation as deputy secretary of the Solidarity Council stationed in Cairo. There were also a Russian and an Indian, both also deputy secretaries, in their six-man delegation. The delegates came from Cairo to Accra armed with the proceedings of their own Conference held in Cairo in December 1957. They soon realized, however, that they couldn't capture the Accra Conference or prevent the establishment of a permanent secretariat, the latter sure to become the chief competitor of their own organization. The Solidarity Council delegates reaped what benefits they could, which were chiefly to develop the kind of close contacts with nationalist leaders south of the Sahara which they had been unable to do since they were organized in January 1958.

For various reasons, Conference chairman Tom Mboya felt compelled to dissociate Accra from the Cairo group. At a press conference he outspokenly stated: "I want to point out categorically that this Conference is not in any way directly or indirectly connected with the Afro-Asian Solidarity Group." His words were given prominence in the Accra press.

A third dimension of communist influence appeared in the isolated pro-communists present at the Conference, a few as delegates, more as observers. The delegates came largely from French Africa. The observers came mainly from America, especially Mrs. Paul Robeson and Mrs. W. G. B. DuBois. Dr. DuBois, the father of Pan-Africanism, was in Moscow but, at 90 years of age, too infirm to travel. In a speech read by his wife, DuBois told the Africans that "your bond with the white world is closest to those who support and defend China and help India and not those who exploit the Middle East and South America."

While Russians tried to get their hands into Africa, they scored no immediate success at Accra. If their palms are firmly planted in the U.A.R.—for the moment—only the tips of their fingers are touching Africa south of the Sahara.

mah cultivate. And finally there is the power of non-violence.

It offers an alternative to men in a hurry for their rights and dignity, an alternative to the crude hatreds and threats of the Communist Manifesto. It works, no one has ever doubted it, when you are dealing with a people like the British. It leaves areas of expanding freedoms, not liberties

brutally extinguished as they have been in the Chinese communes.

This is one of the things that has come out of the Accra Conference—that the forces of construction are lined up for non-violence and peace, for a decent settlement of Africa's old problems, for compromise mutually helpful to all involved, and against fanaticism, hatreds, and war.

French-Speaking Africa at Accra

By JOHN MARCUM

THE ACCRA CONFERENCE marked the first major assemblage and confrontation of Africans with French, Belgian, and British colonial backgrounds; and as in the Atlantic community, the French speaking delegates faced a non-bilingual, English speaking majority. The fact that delegates from the French Community countries were heavily weighted on the side of political minority groups, youth and trade union movements, and more extreme factions, tended to add a political dimension to the barriers of language and procedural differences. Yet at the very least, this first large-scale meeting between French and English speaking Africans revealed problems, suggested remedies, initiated contacts, and promised to weigh upon domestic politics—all in such a manner as to serve the cause of African unity.

Within four days of the opening of the Accra Conference, the powerful *Union Soudanaise*, governing party of the Sudan Republic and an affiliate of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (RDA), was undecided about sending a delegation. A few days later, on December 4th, Ivory Coast Minister of State Houphouet-Boigny, RDA president, told a press conference in Abidjan that he had no intention of accepting an invitation to Accra and proceeded to attack the Conference as destined only to produce idle talk and demands for

"illusory" independence. The Ivory Coast, he asserted, must concentrate upon action, not words, and must build the prosperous republic made possible by the advantages of membership within the Franco-African Community.

RDA Stays Home

Whether because of the position of Houphouet-Boigny or not, neither the *Union Soudanaise* nor any other RDA unit from West or Equatorial Africa went to Accra. In fact, the only government party from all of the eleven West and Equatorial republics of the French community that showed up was the Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS), a section of the *Parti du Regroupement Africain* (PRA)—and this group played less than an enthusiastic role. Léopold Senghor's representatives criticized the conference's failure to treat economic independence as essential to political independence and cultural unity as essential to Pan-African unity. They expressed regret that not enough account had been taken of the representation from Africa "d'expression française," so that the conference took on the appearance of a meeting of "English Africa." They stressed the differences in background and thinking which underlie the concepts of the British Commonwealth and the French Community. The UPS

ASR

further indicated that it gave priority to a federation of the republics of former French West Africa over the undertaking of a wider union.

The delegates of the dissident "PRA-Senegal" party, led by the young historian Abdoulaye Ly, were contrastingly whole-hearted in their support of independence today ("Why tomorrow?") and Pan-Africanism. So were their associates in the *Union Générale des Travailleurs de l'Afrique Noire* (UGTAN) led by Abdoulaye Gueye; and the small, Fabian Society style National Liberation Movement led by the Upper Volta historian, Joseph Ki-Zerbo, concurred enthusiastically.

Togo was represented by a large delegation from the pro-government section of the Juvento youth group and a small government party delegation. The French Cameroons was represented by the United Populations of the Cameroons (UPC) delegation from Cairo; the Cameroons government leaders were absent.

Two French-speaking delegations, those from Algeria and the Cameroons, represented groups already in arms against colonial rule. The Algerians in particular opposed any conference endorsement of non-violence which might constitute a disavowal of their cause. The desperate nature of their fight gave them considerable prestige and they won conference support for meeting violence with violence. In addition, the National Liberation Front (FLN) delegation head, Ahmed Boumendjel, spent

JOHN MARCUM, assistant professor of political science at Colgate University in Hamilton, N. Y., is presently in French Africa on a Ford Foundation grant.

considerable time with top Ghanaian, Liberian, Ethiopian, and Guinean representatives seeking recognition for the "Provisional Algerian Government."

The new Republic of Guinea was represented by a strong delegation graced by the attractive presence of Madame Sékou Touré. And the Ghana-Guinea Union, approved by the Ghana National Assembly in the presence of many conference delegates, dramatized the coming together of French and English speaking Africa.

The presence of a delegation from the *Mouvement National Congolais* led by Patrice Lumumba, marked the

(Continued on next page)

MME JELILA DAGHFOUS, Neo-Destour Party, Tunisia, with Mme Sékou Touré, wife of President of Guinea.

first appearance of Congolese Africans in international politics. Traveling to Accra with the permission of Belgian authorities, the group was naturally plied with attention from many quarters.

What will be the impact of the Accra Conference upon French speaking Africa? The very fact that members of the UPS of Senegal felt obliged to come to a meeting for which they expressed so many reservations, indicates their desire not to appear disinterested in independence and Pan-African unity. The Accra Conference may boost the growing sentiment for independence found among the young, dynamic political elements within the republics of the French Community. It may compound problems already raised by charges of French interference in the Niger election, the struggle between federalists and provincialists in West and Equatorial Africa, and the successful leap of Sékou Touré into independence. Young nationalists like Abdoulaye Ly and Joseph Ki-Zerbo are counting upon a rapid breakdown of the "unnatural" Community with France. The presence of, or known visits of, PRA leaders from the Ivory Coast, Niger, and Upper Volta to Accra, and dark rumblings among Ivory Coast exiles about a possible uprising against Houphouet-Boigny are clear signs of the increasing influence that Ghana, the Ghana-Guinea



ASR

DIOMI GASTON, Mayor of Ngiri-Ngiri commune in Leopoldville, Belgian Congo, was among French-speaking delegates. He was later arrested following January riots.

Union, and Pan-Africanism are exerting upon today's political "outs" in French Africa.

It is too early to assess the full significance of the role of French-speaking Africa at this first All African Peoples' Conference. However, some facts seem evident already:

(1) Contact has been established and the need for bilingualism has been forcefully registered upon African leaders. For example, a prominent Kenya legislator has decided to introduce a bill in the Kenya legislature requiring compulsory French language study in all secondary schools.

(2) With respect to Pan-Africanism, majority parties in French West and Equatorial Africa are still largely hostile, indifferent, or absorbed in internal problems and were noticeably absent from the conference.

(3) Young intellectual, trade union and Communist groups in French speaking territories have appropriated the Pan-African label and will use it to build their power at home and to undermine the French Community.

(4) The Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the UAR delegates, with an assist from Majhmout Diop, leader of the small African Independence Party (PAI), courted young nationalists from French, Belgian, and Portuguese territories with offers of Cairo exile from which to build future political power (by revolution where necessary).

(5) The Algerian nationalists won moral backing and wider African audience, while integrating their lonely struggle, at least psychologically, within the context of total African liberation from European control.

(6) At the conference's conclusion, the young nationalists controlled the positions allocated French speaking delegates on the steering committee of the new Pan-African organization. The UPS was blanked out despite its unique position as the only representative of a governing party in a French Community republic, because it was held to be unsympathetic toward the aims of Pan-Africanism.

'Formidable Opponents', Die Burger Says

From "Die Burger," South Africa, 20 December 1958:

"The tone of the conference of black leaders held at Accra was ominous for Africa. It was no gathering of governments, but quite a number of men of influence among the black masses attended, men who will no doubt share in the government of certain areas within the next few years. . . .

"We have no doubt that the black leaders found much inspiration there, and we may just as well face the truth that some of them, apart from their enthusiasm for the struggle, have considerable political insight and ability. They are formidable opponents especially for people and authorities whose faith in themselves and their right to be in Africa have been seriously sapped.

"To what degree the new leaders are Communists or Communist tools is a matter of controversy. It has been reported that they have rejected Communist as well as Arab attempts

to get a hold on the course they have set. But there can be no doubt that they know how to use the Western fear of Communism to the full.

"In other words, in Africa south of the Sahara a formidable new corps of black leaders have emerged with many factors which divide them, but with the strong binding force of anti-colonial feeling. We must not underestimate their nationalism. Like our own it may be capable of sacrifice, dedication and drive, and it is being favoured in the matter of quick results by the world struggle between the West and the Soviet Empire.

"It is a tough thought that future co-operation in Africa may increasingly mean co-operation with these men or others who will not differ much from the conference delegates at Accra.

"How does this prospect affect South Africa? Their war cry is that White colonial control in Africa should end, al-

though the wisest among them still regard the White man as essential as entrepreneur and expert. There is no evidence that in their struggle against government by Whites they are making an exception of South African Whites, the only real White nation in Africa with an indisputable right to self-determination.

"Unless these black leaders learn to do that their aspirations must finally lead to an irreconcilable conflict between them and us.

"This we must do everything to avoid. We must work, hope and pray that it never happens. But realism rather than pessimism forces us to keep in mind the harsh possibility that there may be no choice.

"Our future relations with Black Africa to the north of our borders may perhaps be determined in great measure by what these new Black leaders are going to do, than by our own declared policy of understanding and co-operation."

BELGIAN CONGO: END OF AN ERA; KING PROMISES FULL INDEPENDENCE

Although order has now been restored in the Belgian Congo following the outburst of pro-independence riots which brought death to several scores of persons in early January, the political face of the Congo remains permanently altered. The Congo image of 1958 -- a paternalistic colonial society which owed its placidity to the prevalence of economic opportunity, steadily improving living standards for the Congolese, and a very tight rein on all political activity -- has been set aside by Africans and Belgians alike.

The Belgian Government's "new deal" for the Congo -- reportedly working its way slowly through the wheels of administration well before the January disturbances -- unequivocally places the largest remaining colony in Africa among the ranks of the emerging African-dominated independent states to the north rather than among the multiracial experiments to the south. The Belgian plan, affirmed by King Baudouin in a special broadcast to the Congo, promises:

- General elections in 1959, in which the colony's 13,000,000 Africans will elect local legislative bodies. These, in turn, will choose in 1960 a "skeleton" national assembly to which responsibility will be transferred at unspecified stages.
- The complete end of racial discrimination.
- The opening to Africans of all grades of civil service in the Leopoldville administration.
- New minimum wage scales for Africans, designed further to raise living standards.
- Improved educational standards to prepare Africans for a full role in government.
- An undated promise of full independence.

ANGOLA VIOLENCE TIED TO CONGO

An outbreak of violence in Angola, reported in the press on February 13, is believed by most observers to be confined to areas contiguous to the Belgian Congo and related to events in the Belgian colony rather than to any quickening of unrest in Portuguese Africa. The politico-religious Abako movement, which was suppressed in the Congo in the wake of the January riots, is made up of members of the Bakonga tribe, which spills over into Portuguese Angola. Feeling against the Belgian authorities is reported running high throughout the Bakonga tribal areas. The arrest of the popular Abako leader, Joseph Kasavuba, is a particular sore point on both sides of the border.

DEATHS MOUNT IN BRAZZAVILLE RIOTS

Rioting between African political and tribal factions left more than 75 dead and 200 injured Feb. 19 in Brazzaville, capital of the new Congo Republic in the French Community, according to late news reports. French troop reinforcements were brought in to assist local police in quelling the disturbances. The European quarter of the city was unaffected, in contrast to the January anti-white independence riots across the river in Leopoldville.

FEDERAL TROOPS ENTER NYASALAND

Government troops of the Central African Federation moved into Nyasaland February 20 following an appeal from the British Governor for assistance in quelling African rioting.

Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky said the Government intended to "make it thoroughly unpleasant" for those who persist in breaking the peace. Almost wholly African in population, Nyasaland is a reluctant member of the three-state Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in which political power is shared by the U.K. and local Europeans through a complicated constitutional formula. A review of the five-year-old arrangement is scheduled to take place in London in 1960 and African leaders are pressing for Nyasaland's withdrawal.

BANDA BANNED IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Dr. Hastings Banda, president of the Nyasaland African National Congress, was banned from returning to Southern Rhodesia after telling a cheering crowd of several thousand Africans in Salisbury to "go to your prisons in your millions, singing Hallelujah! The European has had his opportunity to lead the Africans and has lost it...To hell with Federation!" Banda, back from the All-African People's Conference in Accra, said he was "determined" to break up the white-dominated Central African Federation and take Nyasaland out. Meanwhile, Mr. T.D.T. Banda, president of the rival Congress Liberation Party in Nyasaland, has called for an open conference with Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd on new constitutional proposals.

DOMINION PARTY PROPOSES PARTITION

In a move aimed at thwarting British efforts to increase African participation in the governing processes of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the opposition Dominion Party has presented a detailed plan for reshuffling the present Federation into a new "Central African Alliance." According to Dominion leader Winston Field, the proposed Alliance would revolve around an independent, white Dominion of Rhodesia (made up of Southern Rhodesia and the mineral areas of North-

(Continued on next page)

NEWS ROUNDUP

(Continued from preceding page)

ern Rhodesia where Europeans have interests) which would have a protective and supervisory role over two African Protectorates of Nyasaland and Barotseland.

Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister and leader of the United Federal Party, commented in a speech that by splitting the Federation up into "black areas and white areas" "not a single problem would be solved and some would be exacerbated; the "white" area "would still have over three million Africans in it." In response to a press conference query about possible unification of the Federation and South Africa, Sir Roy replied: "I don't know. It depends on so many things. For the present, our first aim in the Federation is to obtain independent status in the Commonwealth. At the moment we do not look further than that."

GARFIELD TODD LAUNCHES NEW PARTY

Two liberal Rhodesian politicians -- former Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister R.S. Garfield Todd and Sir John Moffat -- announced on February 9 the formation of a new Central African Party aimed at building a multi-racial society. The new grouping will contest seats in the March 20 general elections in Northern Rhodesia and later for the Federation Assembly. It may be significant for the new party that African registration for the Northern Rhodesian balloting is at an all-time high: over 4,000 had registered by the January 14 deadline.

PATTERN UNFOLDING FAST, SATTERTHWAITE SAYS

"The political situation in Africa today can be described as vibrant, if not effervescent," Joseph C. Satterthwaite, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said in a speech at the Southern Assembly at Biloxi, Mississippi, on January 12.

"The pattern of the new Africa is unfolding rapidly," he added. "Although it will be strikingly different from the old, its future is almost beyond conjecture. One thing is certain: Americans must understand the vast political potential of this colossal continent, almost four times the size of our country. To do so, they must sympathetically appreciate the legitimate aspirations of Africa's 220,000,000 people."

Referring to the "thorny race problem" in parts of Africa, Mr. Satterthwaite called for understanding on the part of Americans. "The problems of the multi-racial states in Africa are enormously complicated and permit no pat solution," he explained. "We must regard them with understanding while at the same time continuing, as in the past, to stand steadfast in all international forums for the

principle of non-discrimination and racial equality throughout the world. (Editor's note: The text of this speech will be printed in next month's issue of Africa Special Report.)

TANU WINS AGAIN IN TANGANYIKA

Candidates supported by the Tanganyika African National Union again swept the boards in elections for 15 vacant seats in the second phase of Tanganyika's first Legislative Council elections on February 9. Most of the seats were not contested. Meanwhile, in the UN Trusteeship Council, Soviet representative Ivan Kurdyukov called for a specific independence date for the British-administered Trust Territory, and U.S. representative Mason Sears recommended early introduction of local universal suffrage and periodic announcements by the UK of the timetable it was following. The British special representative, John Fletcher-Cooke, said the administering authority's practice was to proceed step by step and a constitutional committee would be set up after the elections to map further advances.

SECESSIONISTS WIN IN SOUTHERN CAMEROONS

Universal adult suffrage, introduced in the British-administered Southern Cameroons for the first time in regional elections held January 21, resulted in a close victory for the former opposition party, the Kamerun National Democratic Party, which campaigned against the government's policy of union with Nigeria and in favor of union with the neighboring French Cameroons. KNDP leader John Ngu Foncha, with 14 out of 26 seats in the House of Assembly, has formed a government, while the outgoing Premier E.M.L. Endeley's coalition of the Kamerun National Congress and the Kamerun People's Party retains 12 seats.

The newly-elected House of Assembly, at its first meeting Feb. 11, voted 14-12 to secede from Nigeria and continue as a modified trusteeship pending a plebiscite to consider possibilities for uniting with any French or British sectors.

Definitive action on the future status of the UN Trust Territory, however, will have to await a decision by the UN General Assembly, which took up the whole question of the future of the French and British Cameroons in February.

As the result of a UN fact-finding mission sent to tap local opinion in the area, the Trusteeship Council on Feb. 16 passed a resolution recommending to the General Assembly that the French-administered territory is ready to achieve independence on January 1, 1960, in accordance with French proposals. The mission in its report recommended in ad-

NEWS ROUNDUP

dition that the British-administered Northern Cameroons, which for years has been administered as part of Northern Nigeria, be permitted to unite permanently with Nigeria when that country achieves independence October 1, 1960, and that a plebiscite be held in the Southern Cameroons, where opinion is not so clear, to determine the future of that country.

KENYA AFRICANS EXPLAIN ROYAL VISIT BOYCOTT

African leaders in Kenya have accused the press and government radio of presenting a "gravely misleading" interpretation of the decision of the African Elected Members in the Legislative Council to take no active part in festivities associated with the visit to Nairobi of the Queen Mother. According to an official statement issued by Oginga Odinga on behalf of the African Elected Members' Organization, "The African leaders do not in any way mean to insult Her Majesty the Queen Mother, that charming and gracious lady whom we all respect....(but) at this time, when we, the people of Kenya, are bitterly aggrieved in relation to the struggle for our rights and freedom....we are obviously not in position to welcome Her Majesty... happily; nor are we prepared under anybody's patronage to employ any dint of hypocrisy to imply happiness....The time will certainly come when we shall as a free people with a full say in the affairs of our country welcome the Queen Mother and other honorable guests from the Royal Family with all rejoicing and glory that our land and people can offer..."

MOSCOW PROTESTS SUDANESE ARRESTS

According to TASS, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions has sent a telegram to Prime Minister Ibrahim Abboud of the Sudan protesting the arrest and forthcoming trial of 15 leaders of Sudanese trade unions as a "violation of the elementary rights of trade unions and of democratic principles." All tradeunion and workers association activities have been banned by the new military regime in the Sudan since early December. Meanwhile, a committee headed by a High Court judge has been appointed by the Sudanese Council of Ministers to revise the Sudan's labor laws "in the light of recent developments in the country." Laws giving Sudanese workers the right to strike and the right to participate as an organized body in activities other than trade disputes are reportedly among those marked for revision.

FRANCE RECOGNIZES GUINEA, SIGNS ACCORD

France and Guinea signed financial, economic, and cultural agreements on January 7 permitting the newly-independent West African state to remain in the franc zone. This was followed by formal recognition of the Guinea republic on January 15.

AZIKIWE PUSHED FOR FEDERAL ELECTIONS

The executive committee of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons has called upon the party's national president, Premier Nnamdi Azikiwe of the Eastern Region to step down from the Eastern Region Premiership to contest the Federal elections scheduled for later this year. Chief Awolowo, leader of the Action Group and Premier of Western Nigeria, has already indicated that he will contest the Federal elections if his party so requests.

ILO OFFICE IN NIGERIA

The African field office of the International Labor Office was officially opened in Lagos, Nigeria on January 14. The director is Jean-Baptiste Orizet of France, who for three years has been director of ILO's Near and Middle East Office in Istanbul.

LEWIS JOINS UN FUND

Professor Arthur Lewis, the West Indian economic adviser to Premier Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana for the past two years, has become deputy director of the UN Special Fund for Economic Development.

TOURE RE-ELECTED AS UGTAN HEAD

Sékou Touré, Premier of Guinea, was re-elected president of the largest trade union movement in French Africa, *L'Union Generale des Travailleurs de l'Afrique Noire*, during the organization's first federal congress at Conakry, Guinea in mid-January. John Tettegah, leader of the Ghana Trades Union Congress, was elected as a vice-president. The congress (1) rejected the idea of class warfare in favor of full concentration on the achievement of African independence, (2) called for an all-African labor conference to consider formation of a pan-African confederation of Labor.

DR. MALAN DIES

Dr. Daniel F. Malan, minister of the Dutch Reformed Church before he became Prime Minister of South Africa (1948-54) and father of apartheid, died in Capetown on February 8 at the age of 84.

PRESIDENT TUBMAN ON "U.S. OF AFRICA"

Liberian President William V.S. Tubman has dismissed as "premature and utopian" Ghana Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah's proposal for a United States of Africa. However, Mr. Tubman has proposed the formation of a permanent organization to be known as the Associated States of Africa. This plan would call for an "understanding" among independent African states and colonies with fixed dates for independence.

-- Helen Kitchen

Economic Notes

THE INAUGURAL session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, held in Addis Ababa in early January, appeared at one point to be disintegrating into a name-calling session between independent African states and colonial powers. But after an initial week of jockeying for position, the delegates closed ranks to draw up an ambitious but largely practical and a-political program aimed at furthering economic development of Africa. Major emphasis at this initial meeting was on establishing a base of valid and accurate continent-wide statistics.

THREE NEW AREAS, all of them in Africa, joined the list of free world oil-producing regions during 1958. Nigeria, Angola, and the French Sahara increased the number of African sources of oil to eight and almost doubled the continent's crude production over 1957.

THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT has issued a strong denial of press charges that it is "selling out to the Americans" the petroleum resources of the Sahara. Several Paris newspapers had taken serious exception to the agreement reached in mid-January between the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and French firms for the prospecting and exploitation of eastern Sahara oil. An official statement declared that the new agreement does not apply to oil deposits already discovered, and that Standard will share both the profits and expenses of the new 12,500 square mile concession in the southeastern Sahara with two French firms, *Compagnie Francaise des Petroles* and *Edjele*, on a 50-35-15 basis. American capital

and technical knowledge are especially needed in this concession, the French statement pointed out, because the area is remote and access difficult. The Board of Directors, comprised of three Frenchmen and three Americans, will be chaired by a Frenchman.

COPPER PRODUCTION will be resumed at the Bancroft Mine in Northern Rhodesia in April, according to an announcement by company executives in Salisbury. Bancroft ceased production in March 1958 when the Anglo-American Corporation agreed to fall in line with other copper belt producers and effect a 10 percent cut in planned production to counteract a deterioration in the world demand and price for copper.

SOUTH AFRICA will join the 145 countries and territories using a decimal coinage system by 1961, according to Minister of Finance T. E. Donges. The present pound, shilling, and pence coinage system will be changed to a 10 shilling-cent basic unit, but the government has not yet decided on the monetary unit to be used or the name of the unit. The Minister emphasized that the new system will bring about no change in the internal or external value of South African money.

EFFECTIVE January 29, 1959, the Sudan Gezira Board discontinued its controversial minimum reserve prices on Sudanese long staple cotton. Sudanese authorities, still encountering grave difficulties in moving a heavy backlog of cotton dating back as far as 1957, expect that this move will allow prices of Sudanese cotton to drop to levels competitive with other foreign extra long staples.

MALI

(Continued from page 2)

a Court of Arbitration to rule on disputes among members of the Community. On the basis of one seat to every 300,000 inhabitants, 98 of the parliamentary seats will go to African republics and 186 to France and Algeria; no territory, whatever its population, will have less than three senators.

In another step toward regional unity far more tentative than the Mali arrangement, four states of what was formerly French Equatorial Africa—Chad, Gaboon, the Congo Republic, and the Central African Republic (formerly Ubangi-Shari) — have established a customs union.

The remaining new African republics show no immediate inclination to restore old regional ties or forge new ones: Houphouet-Boigny's prosperous Ivory Coast hues to a strongly separatist line; Niger, governed since December by a conservative regime close to France and isolated from many of its sister African territories by forbidding terrain, has not had time to forget its minority role in the earlier Dakar-centered federation of French West Africa; and Mauritania, which turns half a face northward to Morocco, has not yet achieved internal consensus on its African role. Madagascar, the twelfth republic in the French community, is isolated from the rest of French tropical Africa by both cultural and geographic considerations.

VISITORS TO U. S.

GHANA: John O. T. AGYEMAN, Assistant Commissioner for Commerce, Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

I. Ackom MENSAH, Accountant at the Kumasi College of Technology.

NIGERIA: D. C. OGWU, member of the House of Representatives, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Education.

AAI LECTURE SERIES

Sir Ebo PIRBHAI, President of the Aga Khan Supreme Council for Africa, Representative of the Aga Khan in East Africa, and a member of the Kenya Legislative Council spoke on the Ismaili role in East Africa at a lecture January 27 in Washington, D. C. The lecture is one of a series sponsored jointly by the African-American Institute and the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University.

In the next lecture in the series, Paul BOHANNAN of Princeton University's Department of Economics and Sociology will discuss land problems in Africa, on March 16.

PUBLICATIONS

Science in the Development of Africa, by E. B. Worthington (Stephen Austin & Sons, Great Britain; 462 pages, 30sh.) was prepared at the request of the Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara (C.C.T.A.) and the Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara (C.S.A.). The book is a documentary of the work done in the physical, biological and social sciences by the C.C.T.A., a council whose members include the governments of Belgium, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, France, Ghana, Liberia, Portugal, the Union of South Africa, and the United Kingdom.

A Time to Speak, by Michael Scott (Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1958; 358 pages, \$4.50) is the personal story of an Anglican Priest who took up the cause of African colonial peoples and organized the African Bureau in London.

A new 700-page hard-cover reference book on Tanganyika offers a wealth of supplementary information and insights for persons interested in the East African trust territory. Attractively produced by the Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, this thick Handbook of Tanganyika contains 18 maps, a scattering of pictures, and a wide assortment of descriptive and historical reference materials. It is intended as a companion volume to *Tanganyika: A Review of its Resources and their Development* and can be obtained in North America from the Crown Agents' Representative, 1800 K St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C., \$6 post free.

WYATT JOINS AAI STAFF

The African-American Institute has announced the appointment of Donald W. Wyatt as Staff Associate with the Institute's New York Office at 345 East 46th Street. Mr. Wyatt will be mainly responsible for the Institute's educational and information program. His staff duties will include the extension of the Institute's lecture program, assistance to institutions and service agencies in developing seminars and conferences designed to broaden the understanding of Americans about Africa and its problems, and the preparation of brochures, study guides and other materials to be used in the program.

During the past year, Mr. Wyatt served the World Affairs Center for the United States as Administrative Officer and Consultant on Minorities. For ten years, beginning in 1947, he was connected with Fisk University in several capacities, from Assistant Professor of Sociology to Assistant to the President.

Mr. Wyatt has had experience in Africa, primarily centered in Morocco, where he served as Red Cross Field Director for eighteen months during World War II, and later returned in 1950 under a Fulbright research grant for further study.

"Africa Special Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lecture, information and visitor services.

HEADQUARTERS: 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York.

Washington Office: 1234 Twentieth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

West Africa Office: P.O. Box 2192, Accra, Ghana.

Board of Trustees

President: Dr. Emory Ross, missionary and consultant on Africa.

Chairman: Harold K. Hochschild, Honorary Chairman of the Board of the American Metal Climax Inc.

Vice Chairman: Judge Edward R. Dudley, former United States Ambassador to Liberia.

Executive Vice President: Loyd V. Steere, former United States Minister-Consul General.

Treasurer: Lansdell K. Christie, President of the Liberia Mining Company.

Secretary: E. Ladd Thurston, Washington Attorney.

Other Members of the Board: Etta Moten Barnett, Lecture recitalist; Dr. Horace Mann Bond, President Honorianus, Lincoln University; Chester Bowles, former United States Ambassador to India; Dr. Gray Cowen, Columbian University; Dame S. Creel, Director, Rockefeller Brothers Fund; William Lee Hanesberry, Professor of African History, Howard University; Dr. Edwin S. Munger, African Associate, American Universities Field Staff; Alan Pifer, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Staff

New York Office: Loyd V. Steere, Executive Vice President.

Washington Office: Gordon P. Hagberg, Director; John M. Livingston, Staff Associate; Raymond J. Smyke, Staff Associate; Robert C. Keith, Chief, Editorial Staff.

West African Office: E. Jefferson Murphy, Director.

The Mail Bag

SOMALI UNITY

To the Editor:

My hearty congratulations for the fine report on Somalia in your December issue. I must say that the two articles presented a very penetrating appraisal of the nature, objectives and problems of Somali nationalism. However, as a Somali, I would like to register one important dissension from the otherwise brilliant analyses of Dr. Apollonio. This is his view that "Greater Somalia" is for Somalis what "European Unity" is for Europeans: not less idealistic and not more effective." The analogy, to say the least, is not only incorrect but is also highly misleading. It may even, coming from a source whose very function is to interpret the objectives and aspirations of the Somali people to the outside world, prove damaging to the cause of Somali unification if it is taken as a true representation of

Somali attitude and feeling in the matter.

The Somali drive toward unification is neither idealistic, as Dr. Apollonio mistakenly holds, nor is it expansionistic as British, French and Ethiopian propagandas machineries have so often presented it, and as at times faithfully but unfortunately echoed by the *New York Times* and some of the American press. It is rather a fundamental yearning and desire inspired and fostered by a deep-seated sense of belonging among Somalis, nurtured by centuries-old cultural, religious and racial homogeneity. It is furthermore made imperative by the dictates of the law of self-preservation in view of the growing threat posed to Somalis by the imperialistic expansion of Ethiopia. The only major obstacle to Somali unification is the policies of such colonial powers as Britain, France and Ethiopia which find the idea of a free and united Somaliland incompatible with their imperialistic interests in the area.

I hope that this statement makes it clear that the promotion of an early unification of divided Somaliland is a fundamental principle of Somali nationalism, and I may add that any opposition from any source to such a legitimate aspiration will essentially be viewed by Somalis as a hostile act against them.

Hassan A. Mirreh
Princeton, N.J.

PROGRAMS FOR AFRICANS

To the Editor:

Mr. Oliver Walker is (to my surprise) misinformed when he writes in your November issue that Africans south of the Congo have no radio programmes worth mentioning that cater specially for them. The African Service of the Federal Broadcasting Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland transmit daily 13 hours of varied entertainment, in eight vernacular languages and English, specially designed for the African listener. Early in the New Year the daily hours of transmission will be increased to 15.

These programmes are widely popular throughout the Federation and well beyond its borders. Receivers (many of them manufactured in Rhodesia) are obtainable from about 21 dollars upwards. It is difficult to estimate how many receivers are owned by Africans in the Federation, but there are certainly no fewer than 65,000 and the number is increasing daily.

James McClurg
DIRECTOR-GENERAL,
Federal Broadcasting Corp.
Federation of Rhodesia and
Nyasaland

KEEP UP WITH AFRICA

Timely news and features
come to you monthly in
AFRICA SPECIAL REPORT



PRESIDENT Touré with Prime Minister Nkrumah at time of announced union between Ghana and Guinea in November.

A.K. DEH

President Sékou Touré of Guinea granted an interview late in 1958 to Claude Barnett of the Associated Negro Press, Chicago. Below are excerpts from Mr. Barnett's talk with the head of the world's newest state:

Q. In the United States there are a great number of teachers. It is possible that a great number of them, both white and black might be interested in coming to Guinea to teach and to aid in the formation of a new republic. Would you be disposed to welcome a group of American teachers?

A. Most certainly, and with open arms.

Q. In what fields and on what levels are the greatest needs in the schools at the present time?

A. Technical and professional.

Q. If it happened that the Guinean salary were not high enough to encourage these teachers to come and the American government were obliged to add a supplement to the salaries, would you accept such an arrangement?

A. Most assuredly yes. It would be idiotic to say the contrary.

Q. Would Guinea be interested in sending students to the United States if they were granted scholarships? How many?

A. Yes, definitely, in unlimited numbers. You may take all my youths if you wish.

Q. Are there other countries which have offered scholarships?

A. West Germany, Switzerland, East Germany and Ghana.

Q. What are the plans for higher education in Guinea?

A. That is going to take time and it will be difficult. It will take a hundred million francs, even two, to build a university such as the one in Accra.

Q. Will the non-Guinean inhabitants remain?

A. Yes, those who wish to do so are welcome to remain.

Sékou Touré On U.S. Help

Q. If they were to leave, would you invite non-professional and business people from other countries? From the United States for example?

A. Yes, from all countries, even if the others don't leave.

Q. Will you tell us in what ways the United States could best help Guinea?

A. (1) On the economic plane the U. S. can help in conducting research for natural resources, in particular in the realm of mines or mineralogy and in conducting the subsequent exploitation or development.

(2) The establishment of commercial intercourse, which would result in an exchange of Guinean products for American products, in the main technical and scientific equipment.

(3) In the cultural domaine Guinea counts heavily on the U. S. and hopes for an intimate and cooperative cultural exchange. In five years time a teacher exchange beginning now would help us to realize our ambition of having every Guinean school child speak English as well as French. We envisage a vast cultural program and would welcome the United States contribution, especially in the area of teaching.

Q. What protection will the Guinean Government offer to foreign investors?

A. We intend to extend the same fiscal guarantee of long duration which is now accorded to Fria and to Bauxite de Midi to any new capital invested. There will be at least a five year tax exemption and no limit imposed on the amount of investments.

Q. Will you make a statement outlining your political and ideological preferences?

A. The Republic of Guinea is under the influence of no bloc, neither East nor West. Her orientation up until this time has been a specifically African policy. I mean by that a goal of independence and unity of all of Africa.

Q. That is the same philosophy as Prime Minister Nkrumah's?

A. Yes, exactly. At the same time, the Republic of Guinea aspires for the rapid transformation of African countries into modern countries. The state of Guinea will be dominated by this aim alone and will judge her future partners by the manner in which they regard this aim. At the present time there are sizable Western investments in Guinea. There are none from the East.

